



## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MARCH 4, 1852.

**Subscribers who do not file the Era, and have numbers 249, 261, 262, and 264, on hand, will confer a favor by remitting them to this office, at our expense.**

## PARTIES IN THE SOUTH.

The Constitutional Union Party, which has obtained temporary control of the States of Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, is somewhat divided in opinion as to the course it shall pursue in the approaching Presidential canvass. Some of its Democratic members are anxious that it should send delegates to the Baltimore Democratic Convention, for the purpose of checkmating the Free-Soulers, and securing the nomination of a Union man acceptable to the South—rather a hazardous step.

What kind of credentials would such delegates present? Repudiating the old Democratic organization, how could they be received as members of a Democratic Convention? Would the Northern Democrats, wedded as they are to established usages, consent to receive a mongrel delegation, representing a hostile organization, and seeking admission avowedly for the purpose of excommunicating what are called Free Soil Democrats?

Thus far the suggestion has not found much favor. The policy of the Union Party of the South, so far as disclosed by its principal organs is, to maintain its independence, decline participation in the Conventions of the old parties, to hold itself in reserve for the purpose of deciding in the comparative merits of the nominations of those Conventions when submitted to the public. The Alabama Union men have called a National Convention, to meet in this city, after the other Conventions shall have acted.

Mr. Stephens, a member of the House from Georgia, has lately written a letter to a gentleman in Georgia, in which he unqualifiedly opposes the proposition to send delegates to the Baltimore Convention, argues that the true course of the Union men is to demand right action by the Conventions of the Whigs and Democrats, as a *condition precedent*, because the condition of the claims of their nominations assumes that the old political organizations are "false and corrupt," utterly untrustworthy for the protection of Southern rights, and insists that the Alabama recommendation of a National Union Convention in Washington city should be responded to by every friend of the South.

A few extracts will serve to show the position of the leading Union men of the South.

"If those members of that Convention [Baltimore] from the South, who were lately so loud in their denunciation of all men at the North, and who were particularly censorious of our position at home, *shall acknowledge their errors and put themselves upon our principles, and shall go to the country a good candidate for the Presidency*, it will be time enough for us to connect ourselves with their action after they shall have given us these evidences of their being entitled to our confidence and co-operation. A good candidate, standing on our principles, and put forward by an organization standing on the same principles, is all we want."

It might be well for our Free Soil friends of the North to ask themselves a similar question.

"No occasion has yet arisen for an appeal to the whole people of the United States upon the principles of our organization. Whether such an occasion shall arise, may depend upon the action of this Baltimore Convention. Alabama has already called a National Convention on our principles, to assemble in this city after the Baltimore Convention. To this latter Convention we could not fail to send our delegation. Should such a state of things then exist as to render a new national organization necessary and proper to carry out our principles, I fear that the late results in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, are but proofs of what may be expected in other sections of the country, when similar efforts may be made for similar objects. And in this connection I will add that the idea of a national organization of the parties in this country upon sound national principles, is, in my opinion, a result not to be looked for with much confidence. As organizations, these parties are both effect and corrupt. They both make professions in 'platforms' which they never carry out in practice. These platforms or programmes have become nothing but artifice, by which they endeavor to delude the people. 'Now wine is not to be put into old bottles, else they burst.' And if the effort to infuse new and sound principles into either of those worn-out parties should be successful, a like result may be expected. It is quite improbable that it should be otherwise; but the elements in each are discordant, conflicting and hostile."

Mr. Stephens is no friend of Intervention doctrine.

"But apart from considerations growing out of the present condition of the slavery question, and other questions of domestic policy, on which the South is equally as wide a difference of opinion between the two great wings of these old parties, there are still other and more serious questions, to which alike must give an answer, and act together, without respect to past differences of opinion on other points, or an early doom will be our destiny, instead of that full measure of true greatness which it is our real 'mission' to attain, and which nothing short of the united patriotism of the whole country can secure."

He closes with emphatic words, revealing the unalterable purpose of the Union men of the South to wage exterminating war against the Anti-Slavery sentiment, a sentiment prevalent among the masses of the free-State people.

"In conclusion, I will add that our policy is to hold our position. We should unite with no party that fails as a condition precedent to incorporate in its creed those principles which we consider as essential to the maintenance of our cause. We should stand aloof from all parties that do not practice principles from all affiliation and association with Free-Soilism. Whatever may be the course of future events, we should stand by our principles; whenever they may lead us, 'through you' as well as

'through us,' and maintain them now, and always, if need be, until they, we, and the Republic, perish together in a common ruin."

## BUFFALO AND BALTIMORE—1848 AND 1852.

"I confess myself disappointed in the results of the Buffalo Convention. To one at the time it did seem that the people had become thoroughly awake, both to their rights and their duties, and that party attachments are no longer to prevent a manly, fearless assertion of the rights of the free North to take the control of the Government, and to wield it in favor of liberty."

"While I believe that that demonstration did exert a salutary influence on the then pending election, I am constrained to admit that the high hopes then formed have faded away, and left the sad conviction that the people of the free States are yet to learn lessons of deep humiliation, before they will rise to the true position and dignity of freedom."—Extract of a Letter from A. A. Gutier to the Free Soil Convention of Ohio.

Let us try again. We are determined that California shall remain free—that Slavery shall not find foothold in New Mexico and Utah—that, while not interfering through the Federal Government with Slavery where it exists, under the protection of State laws, it shall not, beyond their jurisdiction, claim title and protection under the Constitution of the United States—that the element of Freedom, the fundamental idea of Democracy, shall have its legitimate weight in the Federal Councils, and that Slavery shall not prescribe tests of fellowship in national parties, and of position in national affairs. We are determined to withdraw our support from it, all factitious support from it, the support of the Federal Government from it, understanding that whenever the limit is fixed beyond which it cannot pass, and it must live only under the protection of State laws and upon State resources, it will soon come to be regarded by its supporters, not as an institution to be perpetuated, but an evil to be got rid of.

With this determination in regard to Slavery, it will be easy to agree upon our course in relation to other important questions. We have done one—we can do it again. The old Buffalo platform is still in good condition—a plank or two less, a plank or two more, and we shall have a sound, broad basis, Constitutional, Democratic, American.

We need not be precipitate. Premature action is not necessary to bind us who have no doubt respecting the action of the old Party Conventions in the spring, and must tend to repress those who still cherish a lingering hope of the defeat of Hunkerism. We cannot blame the anti-slavery adherents of the old parties, who have determined to do all they can to give a right direction to their Conventions, proposing independent action only in the event of failure. If they fail, as they will, independent action will become their duty. Allegiance to Party is due only while Party maintains allegiance to its principles. The Whig who has claimed that his Party is for Freedom and Progress, and has protested against the Compromise and Fugitive law, cannot go with it when through its National Convention it shall commit itself to these measures, and against Freedom and Progress. The Democrat who holds that his Party is for Human Rights, believes that a majority ought to rule, rejects the fictions of vested rights and finality in legislation, cannot go with it when through its National Convention it shall trample upon every Principle he cherishes.

What then, will they do? Disfranchise themselves? Do nothing, because their Party have done wrong? Hide their light under a bushel? Permit the Ballot-Box to speak but one language, that of submission to the Slave Power? Never! With that select band of voters who have never yet "bent the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery," they will rally on the basis of the Principles, and for the accomplishment of the Objects, proclaimed by the Convention of Freemen that met at Buffalo in 1848.

What are these Principles and Objects? They are stated in the following resolutions:

Suppose there had been no Buffalo Convention, no such united movement against the pretensions of Slavery in 1848, as was represented by that meeting, what then? The Liberty Party, with its one idea, might have cast its own proper vote—fifty, sixty, it may be, eighty, thousand—and, instead of the press of the North generally, agitating and protesting on the subject of Slavery, the agitation would have been confined chiefly to the journals of that Party, and have soon abated among the People at large; and instead of the co-operative policy among the friends of freedom of all parties, which has been so successful in the election of prominent anti-slavery men, and overthrow of politicians conspicuous for their loyalty to Slavery, the old policy of *isolation* would have been adhered to, until every man of practical views and interested in questions affecting the public welfare, had been alienated.

Let us try again. We are determined that the organization of the friends of Freedom, represented by the Convention which met at Buffalo on the 9th and 10th of August, 1848, was a reorganization of the Liberty party of 1840, rendered necessary by the new and extraordinary schemes of Slavery. A vast extent of free territory had been obtained by conquest from a sister Republic, which was intended by a Slaveholding Administration to be converted to the uses of Slave Labor. The Slave Power made no secret of its purpose. Slavery was to be planted in the new Territory, in defiance of its local law: new slave States were to be developed, to increase the political power of Slaveholders in Congress and the Electoral College, so as to secure and perpetuate their ascendancy: the necessity of Emancipation was to be indefinitely postponed, by laying the foundation of an indefinite extension of Slave territory; and for the execution of this plan the whole power of the Federal Government sustained as it is by a People three-fourths of whom reside in non-slaveholding States, and four-fifths of whom are opposed to the perpetuation of Slavery, was to be placed under contribution.

The public mind was profoundly agitated: the People of the free States protested loudly against the scheme; old political organizations were shaken; and when they embarked in the Presidential contest of 1848, with declarations and nominations from which no effectual resistance against Slaveholding usurpation could be expected, numerous voters who had till then acted with them indicated their anxiety to enter a protest at the ballot-box against their policy.

The Liberty men, in accordance with their usages, had already held their Convention and nominated their candidates, but they did not wish to be in the way of a movement in the right direction more comprehensive than their own. If they maintained their position, might not some accessions from the ranks of the disaffected members of the old parties, but the great body of these would either return to their allegiance, retire in disgust from the struggle, or proclaim nominations of their own. In any event, there would have been no such demonstration at the polls as would have embarrassed the plans and impaired the force of the Slavery Propagandists. The Democrat who holds that his Party is for Human Rights, believes that a majority ought to rule, rejects the fictions of vested rights and finality in legislation, cannot go with it when through its National Convention it shall trample upon every Principle he cherishes.

Let us try again. We are determined that the Buffalo Convention contained a full representation of the Radical Democracy of New York; that many of its leading actors were Barnburners, so called; that the resolutions were reported by a committee in which eighteen States were represented, the chairman of which was Benjamin F. Butler, a distinguished New York Democrat; that the platform adopted was fully sustained by the real Democracy of that State, and received the sanction of Martin Van Buren, who was also chosen as the standard-bearer of the new organization. Where will this gentleman, and those who sympathize with him, be found in 1852? In opposition to a Whig Administration which is illiberal and unjust, and can have no other effect than to make permanent the breach which it is the wish of all true Democrats to heal?

Again: see with what tenderness it vindicates the reputation of the Union Democrats of the South:

"We have seen, with deep regret, reproaches cast upon the Compromises Democrats of the South, because the results of the public judgment in favor of acquiescence in that measure have not been obtained without bringing into power men who might not otherwise have been in the field. It is, for example, said, many of these men are 'soft'—that is, they are not fit for the field. They are not fit for the field."

"Resolved, That the law of nations is in the keeping of the men who did not become parties to such schemes. So, on the other hand, it would be contrary to the justice and spirit of Democracy to circumscribe within narrow limits the patriotism which guards the rights of the States, and which watches with sleepless vigilance the tendency of the Federal Government to overturn its constitutional duty."

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## WASHINGTON, D. C.

ENTERPRISE, LANCASTER CO., PA.

February 25, 1852.

To the Editor of the National Era.

DEAR SIR: Having had a slip from the *Advertiser*, which contains the indubitable evidence of the murder of Joseph C. Miller. It is surprising to me that you have so long overlooked this subject, and that a notice of it has not yet appeared in your paper.

[Our correspondent must read more carefully. Dr. Snodgrass has had two letters in the Era on the subject.—*Ed. Era.*]

If you will take the pains to review the evidence given at the last farce enacted in Maryland, over the body of this unfortunate man, I think you will agree with me, that this is one of the most horrible murders on record in this country. Think of it for a few moments!

The testimony proved that when the body was found, it was clear that the body was dry and in every respect in order; no wounds were ever found about the mouth or tongue; and, in fact, the body was remarkably free from the smallest evidence of injury, except the marks upon the wrists, which those gentle, so used to hand-cuffing, thought of so little consequence.

And now, what does the evidence which I send you, taken in connection with the preceding, go to prove? That the murderer man was abandoned to his fate, and was taken by a disguised hand of assassins, whose force was sufficient in their own estimation to murder more of the company, perhaps all of them—for an attempt was made to abduct others.

He must have been treated carefully and delicately, to prevent external injuries. Particular care must have been taken in forcing down his throat the horrible potions of dissolved arsenic, as the teeth and tongue were uninjured; and it is probable that "professional" aid was called in, with appropriate apparatus to inject the fatal fluid into the stomach.

Your readers will perceive that Miller ate a full meal on the evening previous to his death, and, inasmuch as he had a full meal in his stomach or bowels, which shows that his poison had produced violent vomiting or purging, or both, yet no marks appeared on his clothes—additional evidence of the heartless care with which this cruel band of midnight assassins was bestowed upon their yet living victim.

What part the persons concerned in the two pretended post-mortem examinations had in Maryland in this foul murder, yet remains to be resolved; but it is certain that they were desirous that the cause of death should not be disclosed—otherwise the physician would have done what he knew to be his duty, *viz.* to examine the great cavities of the body, the brain, the chest, and the abdomen. A guard, you will remember, seems to have been set upon the rest of the company, as if to watch the effect which his abduction would have upon them; and when it was proven, beyond doubt, that Miller was missing, a number of his associates returned to Baltimore to seek him, and the guard also returned, probably in time to assist in the accomplishment of the hellish deed.

I have heard that some Baltimore papers—I think the *Sun*—have been taking scientific and philosophical interest in this infamous transaction, and endeavoring to prove that the quantity of arsenic found in the stomach of Miller was no evidence that he had not devoured it. This is a palpable attempt to commit suicide by means of arsenic, (*viz.* *suicida*), and suggests that Miller took the arsenic himself, and that the condition of his mind prevented the operation of the arsenic, as was the case with the strichine taken by Webster.

Let this chemical amateur, the first time he is violently excited, pour down his throat some nitric acid, dissolved arsenic, or other corrosive poison, and he will not operate.

He would probably find, that, although his bowels which act upon the nervous system, such as opium, and strichine, may be rendered of no effect by the condition of the mind, yet corrosive irritants in large quantities are little affected by it.

How cruel, to endeavor to fasten upon a man murdered in the legal performance of a duty, and upon his bereaved family, the stigma of suicide!

Now, sir, what has Governor Lowe done to arrest this organized band of assassins, and to wipe the stain of containing such miscreants from the fame of his beautiful metropolis? These facts, and probably others, have been duly transmitted to him. I learn privately; and yet so far as I know, he has not taken the least notice of them. No reward has been offered for the apprehension of the murderers, nor orders issued to the police of Baltimore, to be on the alert to discover them. No action, then, has the Governor of Maryland taken in the case, but such as is calculated to screen the kidnappers. He has refused to give up the notorious kidnappers, McCready and company, upon the legal demand of Governor Johnston. Now, for our own Governor, Bigler, what has he done? One might reasonably suppose that a new Governor, inaugurated in the midst of this transaction, would be glad to signalize his accession by immediately calling a Democratic convention to protect the lives and liberties of the people. What does he do? He sends George F. Alberti, committed about two years since, for the term of ten years, notorious as a kidnapper for thirty-five years, and perhaps better known to the police of Philadelphia for crimes of that kind than any other man that ever lived in Pennsylvania.

Most opportune occasion for this act of clemency.

The Buchanan wished to be President of the United States. The vote of the State of Maryland, in Convention and at the polls, is very important to him. The sacrifice of the lives of innocent citizens, the kidnapping of any number of free persons, and the empurple upon the community of the kidnappers lodged in the penitentiary—what are these, we grieve in our balance, against the acquisition of such a prize? Truly, your friend,

JOSEPH GIBSON.

DEATH OF JOSEPH C. MILLER.

Last week we published the testimony taken at Baltimore relative to the death of Joseph C. Miller. The investigation presented many singular points, the probabilities inclining in our opinion to the supposition that Mr. Miller had been murdered by the kidnappers, who feared that he might live to be the means of exposing their secret. Since that time events have transpired which have put this theory out. Mr. Miller was first murdered, and then hung in the position in which he was found. The facts are thus stated in the *Advertiser* of Jan. 27. "We ask attention to the facts there disclosed:

"It will be remembered that the Maryland authorities sent to this county and removed the body of the late Joseph C. Miller to Baltimore, for the purpose of a thorough examination.

"Mr. Miller got a hearty supper the night he was missing, and, as he labored under severe excitement, his food could not have been digested. We have learned, from another that the contents of the bowels, tested by the examining physician, were found to contain considerable quantities of arsenic.

"There was no blood collected about the body, and the blood vessels had been found to be *white* living; the entrails were not sliced, the cartilages were not cut; the blood vessels of the neck did not exhibit signs of having been compressed; nor did the physician find any indication of death from strangulation.

"The same correspondent informs us that it was the unanimous opinion of the physicians that Miller did not hang himself unless he did it after his meal.

The wrists contained blood, giving unmistakable

evidence of having been tightly cuffed."

Another account gives the following statement, which is confirmatory of the former: "The neighbors who resided near us that his body has been carefully examined for the third and fourth times, and that poison was found in the stomach! The friends of the deceased were not satisfied with the post-mortem examinations made in Maryland, and after the body had been brought home and buried, they insisted on having it taken up and reexamined by Dr. J. W. Hutchinson, assisted by Dr. Dickey. The result is stated in a letter now before us from the physician: "The body was carefully examined for the third and fourth times, and that poison was found in the stomach! The friends of the deceased were not satisfied with the post-mortem examinations made in Maryland, and after the body had been brought home and buried, they insisted on having it taken up and reexamined by Dr. J. W. Hutchinson, assisted by Dr. Dickey. 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